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and official papers and pamphlets." Undoubtedly this book will become more and more valuable as a source of materials. Many of the papers and pamphlets quoted from are rapidly disappearing, either through raids on headquarters and consequent destruction of documents, or through the negligence of the migratory officials of the organization. Dr. Brissenden presents both the theories of the I.W.W. and its acts, which have been quite generally misrepresented by the press or silently ignored. Against a background of dominating personalities he shows the prolonged struggle within the organization between the political actionists and the direct actionists resulting in the triumph of the latter. The conflict between the East and the West over decentralization is also dealt with in detail.

Attention is called to the underlying similarity between the crudely worded doctrines of the I.W.W. and the dignified reconstruction program of the British Labor Party, each being at bottom an insistent demand for democracy in industry. This basic ideal of the I.W.W. has infiltrated into other labor organizations and has modified the platforms of liberal and radical political groups. The I.W.W. are the "gadflies—stinging and shocking the bourgeoisie into the initiation of reforms."

The appendixes give the Preamble of the I.W.W. in its original form and as modified by the struggle of the factions; statistical tables of membership according to industries and according to local unions; a list of strikes and free-speech fights; a collection of "Wobbly" songs; reprints of "criminal syndicalism" statutes; and a well-arranged and complete bibliography.

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Sovietism—The A B C of Russian Bolshevism. By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920. Pp. 220. \$2.00 net.

In this book we are given what the author calls the A B C of Russian bolshevism. The Bolsheviks, according to Mr. Walling, are a group of fanatics, a sect which does not represent the majority and which has no seriously undertaken program. Ruthlessness has been resorted to by the leaders as a means of imposing their will upon the people; the more recent tendencies toward moderation and reason are simply devices to conceal the true and vicious policy which will be uncovered at the proper moment. The immediate goal of the group is recognition; a

basis for carrying on more effectively its avowed campaign to establish a world-dictatorship.

Granted that all of these conclusions are supportable, Mr. Walling's method of establishing the case is far from satisfactory. Being unable to speak from observation and experience in direct contact with the Russian situation, he turns for his evidence to the utterances of the Bolsheviks themselves as the basis of his proof. Here, we are told, are the Soviet Constitution and decrees, Lenine's speeches, extracts from the Bolshevik press, and the published opinions of Maxim Gorky. With the exception of the excerpts from Gorky, which are taken from writings prior to his support of the present régime, the idea is: Let them speak; they expose, they contradict, they indict themselves and their system. What evidence could be more satisfactory?

Manifestly it is open to question how far one can generalize with safety from inconsistencies found in the decrees, political writings, and speeches of officials. How much, for example, does the reading of our Constitution contribute to an understanding of the United States? Certainly many of us would like to believe that we are not what could be reasonably inferred by reading excerpts from the *Congressional Record*. Lenine, possibly, holds his ear to the ground. That's diplomacy. As for Trotsky, who has had experience as a journalist in New York, possibly he learned some tricks on that job which he has not been able wholly to forget. State documents, decrees, words from politicians, particularly these who are insecure in tenure of office, must not be taken too seriously.

The criticisms quoted from Gorky are more formidable and, as intended by Mr. Walling, they do serve admirably as the basic fabric of proof. There is a poignancy of thrust within the ponderous phrases of this fearless critic which carries the battle home. But although Gorky's testimony stands a pillar of strength, the broader conclusions of the book are weakened by the fact that Gorky has shifted his allegiance recently to the Bolsheviks. He feels that the spirit of the Revolution must be saved and the present ugly vehicle of government is the only method. No alternatives exist; the existing régime alone can prevent chaos.

It would seem that Gorky's position furnishes a suggestion for writers upon the Russian situation. What the public wants to know is not what the political leaders have said but what Russia is doing, what is being accomplished. How about production? Is it increasing or decreasing? What handicaps are there? What is the condition of the

people, the standard of living? What problems are there in dividing what has been produced between the rural and the city workers? Evidence upon these points would make possible an intelligent answer to the biggest question: How much of the lack of production, the misery, and the breakdown of transportation and industry is due to the form of government and how much to the blockade, the seven years of war, the combined wrecking tactics of the enemies of the soviet government? It would point to a possible course of action.

Unfortunately this book treats these matters scantily. On page 48, for example, we are told: "The transportation crisis complicates the fuel crisis—for the temporary occupation of the chief mining centers by the civil enemy, the destruction of the mining machinery and Soviet mismanagement crippled the coal mines and made it necessary to use wood." But what proportion of the damage is due to "temporary occupation by the civil enemy" and what proportion to "Soviet mismanagement" are the questions which are lost in the generalization. On page 59 the statement is made, "A year ago this spring of 1920 a new policy was instituted and the most hated anti-labor policies of reactionary employers were introduced; the Taylor system, piece wages, premiums, bonuses, etc." This does reveal a dictatorship! But what has been the effect upon production?

What is needed at this time is less political opinion and more economic facts. It is true that a political question is involved in the Russian situation. But more information first as to the functioning of the Russian state will make clear what political attitude should be adopted toward sovietism. Yes, and what we should think of certain academic circles, which Mr. Walling says (p. 134) "would render helpless all parties and governments that are struggling heroically against the Red tide—by describing the Bolsheviki as being bad, very bad, but no worse than their opponents. . . ."

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